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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
600 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience [754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family [576] comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent [272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[607] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so.

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[1] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[1] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchildren of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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585 602 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only encourages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἀξία τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

● 578 When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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882 593 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 593 576 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively [517] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to 884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service, 593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to 576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he 295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son [701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave. [561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[1] of fully adult but unmarried [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. [559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[1] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 609 578 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- 571 tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious 521 in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros:* "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

585 292 [531] fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, ● [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafis grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

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a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet, but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of the flocks from which they had been shorn — and many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall, with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the bride stood motionless. On either side of her on the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-looking girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*" ("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable. Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move a fraction when other latecomers arrived and hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological museum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

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In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder mountains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

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[Text continues on p. 79-C]

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we